

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 L-03 SS-15 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 CU-02 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

OIC-02 /072 W

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O R 180926Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1510

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 11662

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW, WB, US, UK, FR, UR

SUBJECT: CSCE: APPLICABILITY TO BERLIN

REFS: A) STATE 169412; B) BONN 11584

1. EMBASSY GREATLY APPRECIATES DEPARTMENT'S RE-
CONSIDERATION OF FORMULATION FOR SUMMIT STATEMENTS
ON APPLICABILITY OF CSCE RESULTS TO BERLIN. BECAUSE OF
ARRIVAL OF PREADVANCE TEAM MORNING OF JULY 18, US HAS
HAD TO REQUEST POSTPONEMENT OF BONN GROUP MEETING UNTIL
MONDAY (JULY 21), WHICH ALLOWS TIME FOR ONE MORE LOOK AT
THE PROBLEM. WE ARE AFRAID THAT NEW POSITION DEPARTMENT
IS SUGGESTING WILL STILL NOT PRODUCE AGREEMENT.

2. OUR PREVIOUS REPORTING MAY HAVE BEEN LACKING IN
CLARITY ON VIEWS OF OTHER BONN GROUP GOVERNMENTS. ALL
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REALIZE THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT ACCEPT OUR POSITION

THAT QRR'S APPLY TO "BERLIN" (THOUGH THIS SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY DETER US FROM RESTATING OUR POSITION AT CRUCIAL MOMENTS). THIS DIVERGENCE OF POSITIONS, HOWEVER, IS ONE OF PRIME REASONS FOR FRENCH INSISTENCE THAT WHATEVER WE SAY ABOUT APPLICABILITY OF CSCE RESULTS TO BERLIN MUST BE QUALIFIED BY A REFERENCE TO QRR. FRENCH BELIEVE--WITH CONSIDERABLE JUSTIFICATION, IN EMBASSY VIEW--THAT IT IS FAILURE TO DO SO, RATHER THAN THE REVERSE, WHICH WOULD PROMPT A SOVIET REBUTTAL. IN SHORT, A REFERENCE TO QRR WOULD BE AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ON OUR PART THAT WE ARE BRINGING BERLIN INTO THE CSCE PICTURE ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT OUR QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES PERMIT US TO DO SO.

3. ANOTHER PROBLEM WHICH WE SEE WITH NEW FORMULATION SUGGESTED BY DEPARTMENT (FINAL SENTENCE REF A) IS THAT IT STRETCHES RATHER FAR THE MEANING OF THE LAST VERSION OF THE "ALL EUROPE" CLAUSE WE HAVE SEEN. GENEVA 5257 REPORTS THE FOLLOWING TEXT:

"GUIDED BY THEIR INTENTION TO PROVIDE THROUGHOUT EUROPE AND AMONG THEMSELVES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF THE BENEFITS OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE WHICH HAVE FOUND EXPRESSION IN THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE..."

THIS STRIKES US AS FALLING SHORT OF A "CLEAR AGREEMENT" THAT THE "RESULTS OF CSCE APPLY THROUGHOUT EUROPE." THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE AN OPEN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE "ALL EUROPE" CLAUSE NECESSARILY MEANS ALL THE RESULTS OF CSCE, OR WHETHER WE WOULD EVEN WANT IT TO MEAN ALL THE RESULTS (CBM'S, FOR EXAMPLE, OR INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS). HERE AGAIN, WE THINK THERE IS OVERRIDING MERIT IN STATING AT THE SUMMIT THAT OUR CONVICTION THAT THE RESULTS OF CSCE APPLY TO BERLIN IS QUALIFIED BY QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES--THUS HAVING THE EFFECT OF ACKNOWLEDGING THAT MATTERS OF SECURITY AND STATUS ARE STILL RESERVED TO THE ALLIES.

4. ACTION REQUESTED: WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT REVIEW ISSUE ONCE MORE AND AGREE TO A CONFIDENTIAL

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STATEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF THE UK DRAFT OR THE FRENCH COMPROMISE DRAFT SUGGESTED REF B.
HILLENBRAND

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